

Transcript

00:00

- Well good afternoon.

00:01

I'm Daniel Benjamin.

00:02

I'm the Director of the Dickey Center.

00:04

And I'm delighted to welcome you to this event

00:06

on Saudi Arabia's role in 9/11,

00:09

and why the U.S. Government has kept it hidden.

00:12

So we are now headed toward the 20th anniversary

00:17

of the historic events of 9/11.

00:22

We are reminded of this, especially today,

00:24

after the discovery and killing of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi,

00:28

the so-called Caliph of the Islamic State in Syria,

00:33

over the weekend,

00:34

someone who had eluded U.S. Forces for many years.

00:37

And of course Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi connects us,

00:42

and is really part of the long shadow of 9/11.

00:45

The group he led was the successor to al-Qaeda in Iraq,

00:49

which arose after the 2003 invasion of that country

00:53

by the United States.

00:54

Now as someone who has been deeply involved

00:57

in counter-terrorism since 1998

01:00

when Osama Bin Laden issued his famous fatwa,

01:03

calling for believers to kill Americans

KSAX-0018

Case No.
03-md-1570

01:06
wherever they could find them,
01:08
and who was working in the White House
01:09
when we lost two embassies in East Africa, and who spent...
01:16
the day in the State Department Operations Center
01:18
when Bin Laden himself was found and killed in 2011,
01:22
this seems like a chain of events
01:24
that we will never be fully free of.
01:28
In the investigations following 9/11
01:32
by the Congress, the Blue Ribbon 9/11 Commission,
01:35
and the federal government,
01:38
the actions of many, many players were scrutinized.
01:41
And one of those players that drew the most interest
01:43
was the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia,
01:45
home of 15 of the 19 9/11 hijackers,
01:48
as well of course as Bin Laden himself.
01:52
Saudi Arabia stood accused of having laid the seabed
01:56
for jihadist violence because of its advocacy,
01:59
its global advocacy for Wahhabi Islam,
02:03
and the missionary work of its many religious NGOs.
02:06
Yet all three of those inquiries
02:09
ultimately absolved the Saudi Arabia government
02:11
of direct responsibility for the events of 9/11.
02:14
Were those findings correct?

02:16

Well judging by the size of the audience here,

02:19

I'm guessing there are plenty of people

02:20

who are still uncertain, not to say, suspicious.

02:24

Today we will hear from Jim Kreindler,

02:26

who is leading a group of attorneys and survivors of victims

02:33

who are seeking to demonstrate

02:35

that the government of Saudi Arabia

02:36

does indeed bear responsibility for 9/11

02:39

and must compensate survivors

02:42

of the victims of that horrible day.

02:45

And let me say at the outset

02:46

that if Jim Kreindler says it's so,

02:48

we need to take the issue very seriously,

02:51

not only because he is a magna cum laude member

02:54

of the Class of 1977,

02:57

or the son of a member of the Class of 1945

03:00

whose name is on the Conference Center

03:02

just across the hall from this room.

03:06

Jim Kreindler is one of the foremost attorneys

03:09

working in the field of redress

03:12

for victims of terrorism and in aviation law.

03:17

And he took the lead role

03:19

as a member of the plaintiffs committee

03:20
in the Pan Am 103 litigation against Libya,
03:24
which produced a \$2.7 billion settlement
03:28
in additional compensation for the families of Lockerbie.
03:33
And that is still the only case where any foreign state
03:37
has ever made such a payment to terrorist victims.
03:41
That's just one of the many famous cases
03:44
he's been involved with.
03:45
Among the others, EgyptAir 990,
03:49
Swissair Flight 111, which crashed in Nova Scotia in 1998,
03:55
and of course the famous TWA Flight 800 disaster
03:59
off Long Island.
04:02
Jim Kreindler received his JD
04:05
from Columbia University in 1980,
04:08
where he was a Harlan Fiske Stone Scholar.
04:11
And he started out his career
04:12
as an assistant district attorney in Kings County,
04:15
otherwise known as Brooklyn,
04:17
in the district attorney's office there.
04:20
He is the recipient
04:21
of the 2009 Public Justice Lawyer of the Year Award.
04:26
He is obviously a very distinguished attorney,
04:30
but I am pretty much in awe of Jim
04:33
also because of his political shrewdness,

04:37

because he led the effort

04:40

to enact JASTA, which is the acronym

04:45

by which the Justice Against Sponsors of Terrorism Act law,

04:49

which was passed by the Congress,

04:53

and that law narrows the scope of diplomatic immunities,

04:56

foreign sovereign immunities,

04:58

and allows U.S. citizens to sue,

05:03

if I understand it correctly,

05:05

foreign states even if they are not designated

05:07

as state sponsors of terrorism,

05:10

which has hitherto not been the case.

05:14

So this was, was it unanimous in both houses?

05:19

- [Jim] Well JASTA was passed,

05:24

and then vetoed by President Obama.

05:25

- And then overridden.

05:26

- Overridden 98 to one, and 346 to 77.

05:31

- So those are good numbers, if you're on that side.

05:35

So anyway, clearly he knows what he's doing,

05:38

both in the political arena as well as in the courtroom.

05:42

And with that, Jim, why don't you tell us

05:44

your story and your findings.

05:46

- Thank you, Dan.

05:48

(audience applauding)

05:54

It's always a great pleasure for me to be back at Dartmouth,

05:57

and I'm here with my wife which makes it even more fun.

06:01

But to talk to you in this room dedicated to my dad

06:07

about our life's work, Pan Am 103 and 9/11,

06:12

is especially gratifying.

06:14

Walking over here, we passed Silsby,

06:18

and when I was here, and I was Class of '77,

06:22

that was, and I think still is, the government building,

06:25

and like many government majors,

06:27

I at the time had an abiding faith and belief

06:31

in the integrity and efficacy of our government.

06:37

Talking to you now, I'll make a prediction.

06:41

By the time we're done, you will be revolted and horrified

06:49

to learn what prominent members of our government,

06:53

including past presidents, have done.

06:57

You will be equally amazed and thrilled

07:02

with the courage and determination

07:04

of a few private citizens and former FBI agents

07:10

who have beaten the government

07:14

and defeated the largest lobby effort

07:18

in the world's history.

07:21

To begin with 9/11, and as Dan said,

07:24

when all of you came in the room,

07:27

if asked, well what did Saudi Arabia have to do with 9/11?

07:33

The first thing you'd say is

07:35

15 of the 19 hijackers were Saudi Nationals.

07:39

Some of you pay who pay particular attention to this

07:42

might also make the comment that Dan made,

07:46

and Saudi Arabia has been known to give money to charities

07:50

who in turn funded al-Qaeda.

07:54

But the fact is, 9/11 was an attack on the United States

08:01

with the active intent and cooperation

08:06

from 11 known Saudi government officials.

08:11

Saudi Arabian government officials were the accomplices

08:16

without whom there never could have been a 9/11 attack.

08:22

And I'm going to give you a little information about that.

08:27

The starting place I guess is why would Saudi Arabia

08:33

support al-Qaeda, Osama Bin Laden, who's Sunni, et cetera.

08:39

And to understand that, we have to go back to 1979.

08:45

Most of you with the same hair color as me

08:49

will remember that year.

08:51

I was in my third year of law school.

08:54

The current students obviously will not.

08:58

But 1979 was a wake-up call to the world,

09:02

and the Islamic world in particular.

09:05

Two cataclysmic events happened.

09:08
The Shah of Iran was overthrown,
09:12
something that seemed unthinkable at the time,
09:15
by radical Shiite Muslims, and in the same year,
09:21
the mosque in Mecca was taken over by Wahhabi radicals.
09:27
Now the House of Saud was built in partnership
09:32
with the founder of Wahhabism.
09:34
And you must remember that the King of Saudi Arabia,
09:39
now King Salman, in Arabic, his title is
09:43
the keeper and protector of the holy mosques.
09:47
The word king doesn't appear in his Arabic title.
09:52
When that happened the royal family had an oh-my-God moment.
10:00
If the Shah can be overthrown,
10:03
and Wahhabi radicals can take over the mosque,
10:06
we are next unless we take dramatic action.
10:12
And that event prompted the royal family
10:16
to deliberately start accommodating the Wahhabi Muwahs.
10:23
They did it in two ways.
10:26
Sometime later they created a new branch
10:30
of the Saudi government called
10:32
the Ministry of Islamic Affairs.
10:35
The Ministry of Islamic Affairs is dedicated
10:40
to the spread of Wahhabism internationally,
10:44
and every embassy and consulate in the world

10:49
has Ministry of Islamic Affairs officials embedded in it,
10:55
as well as foreign ministry intelligence, what have you.
11:00
The second thing to keep in mind is the nature
11:04
of the Saudi Arabian government.
11:06
You all know that there are many members
11:08
of the royal family.
11:10
Well, how do you get ahead there?
11:13
How do you become foreign minister, defense minister,
11:18
deputy crown prince, crown prince, or king?
11:22
They don't have elections.
11:24
The way in which you rise to prominence and power
11:28
in Saudi Arabia is to seek and obtain the support
11:33
of the Wahhabi Muwahs.
11:36
So every prominent person in Saudi Arabia,
11:41
King Salman, his predecessor, all,
11:45
made their pilgrimages to kiss Bin Laden's ring in Kandahar.
11:52
Without doing that, they would not have the internal support
11:56
they needed to rise into positions of power.
12:01
In my mind it's not so much affinity with Wahhabism
12:06
that prompts the leaders of Saudi Arabia
12:08
to support Bin Laden, who is not a black sheep by any means.
12:13
Just as an aside, one of his close relatives on 9/11
12:20
is working in the Washington, D.C. embassy,

12:24

as an embassy official, and the head

12:27

of one of the Saudi charities that are supporting al-Qaeda.

12:33

What did these Saudi officials do?

12:38

They had supported al-Qaeda, not just with money,

12:42

but with the logistical support al-Qaeda needed

12:46

to mount the 9/11 attacks and the Cole bombing before it.

12:54

Those of you who are our age remember the embassy bombings?

12:57

Okay.

13:01

Before we get to 9/11, you know,

13:08

it's worth remembering,

13:11

and it's something that you and I talked about at lunch,

13:14

why did Bin Laden turn from an ally

13:17

of the United States fighting the Russians

13:20

to the vitriolic hatred of the United States?

13:24

In my mind, the number one reason

13:27

that caused him to despise us was the presence

13:32

of U.S. Military troops, particularly female troops.

13:37

in Saudi Arabia after we were protecting Kuwait

13:41

and the Emirates and Saudi Arabia from Saddam Hussein.

13:47

So for many years before 9/11

13:50

you had Saudi government officials working with al-Qaeda

13:56

and coordinating with al-Qaeda.

13:59

What happened on 9/11?

14:02
The two lead hijackers, Hazmi and Mihdhar,
14:08
attended, toward the end of 1999, attended a convention,
14:14
a conference in Malaysia of al-Qaeda and other terrorists
14:19
at which the 9/11 attack was planned,
14:23
as well as the Cole attack.
14:26
These terror attacks all emanated
14:31
from a tragic event in 1988.
14:35
How many of you remember when the USS Vincennes
14:38
shot down the Iranian Airbus mistakenly,
14:41
killing 300 plus people?
14:43
So, Iran vowed revenge.
14:47
The plot to destroy 10 U.S. commercial air carriers
14:53
was called the Bojinka plot.
14:56
A plot that Khalid Sheikh Mohammed knew about,
15:01
and tried to implement.
15:03
Khalid Sheikh Mohammed's nephew, Ramzi Yousef,
15:06
was the convicted bomber of the 1993 attack
15:10
on the World Trade Center.
15:14
9/11 was a combination of the Bojinka plot,
15:19
to destroy 10 U.S. aircraft
15:23
with the attack on the World Trade Center in '93.
15:27
The World Trade Center of course is seen
15:29
as the symbol of American capitalism,

15:33
particularly Jewish-American capitalism,
15:37
and that's why it was such a potent target for Bin Laden.
15:42
And our intelligence community knew all this.
15:46
There's no secret about the Bojinka plot
15:51
and Bin Laden's antipathy toward the United States,
15:55
and the support of Saudi government officials.
16:00
So where did this all begin?
16:03
The Fall of '99 Hazmi and Mihdhar
16:06
are in Malaysia planning the 9/11 attack,
16:10
along with other terrorists in the Cole attack.
16:14
They were monitored by the CIA, daily.
16:20
From Malaysia, after their planning was complete,
16:25
they went on a holiday that had particular appeal
16:30
to two radical Wahhabists, soon to be suicide murderers
16:39
who were on their way to heaven in a couple years.
16:42
So they went on a sex vacation to Bangkok.
16:46
The CIA monitored them there.
16:49
From Bangkok they arrived in Los Angeles January 15th, 2000.
16:56
The CIA monitored their flight and their arrival.
17:03
Before January 15th, 2000, a high-ranking official
17:11
in the Saudi Embassy, whose name I know,
17:14
and because of these disgusting protective orders
17:17
imposed upon us by the Justice Department

17:20
with the blessing of the court,
17:22
I can't tell my clients, one of whom in this room,
17:26
this official sent an instruction
17:29
to a Saudi consular official in Los Angeles, Thumairy,
17:35
ordering him to provide the help
17:37
that Hazmi and Mihdhar needed.
17:40
They didn't speak a word of English.
17:42
They wouldn't know the exit sign from the entrance sign.
17:46
So Thumairy and his accomplice,
17:51
who is a Saudi intelligence official, Bayoumi,
17:55
arranged with people who were working with them.
18:01
And this is an interesting thing.
18:03
Al-Qaeda has had, and still has today,
18:08
operatives in the United States.
18:10
They, in California, in L.A.,
18:13
they needed blue-eyed, blonde-haired surfer dudes
18:18
who could take Hazmi and Mihdhar around and teach them
18:21
how to look and act like Americans.
18:25
The terrorists were helped by dozens of these people
18:31
under the control and direction
18:33
of Saudi government officials.
18:35
So they were picked up at the airport.
18:37
They were provided housing near the King Fahad Mosque,

18:42
that was the center point funded by the then King Fahad.
18:47
His son came over with \$10 million.
18:51
That was the meeting place for al-Qaeda.
18:53
Hazmi and Mihdhar were given money.
18:58
Prince Bandar, Bandar Bush, best friend of George Bush,
19:03
Saudi Ambassador to the United States, his wife,
19:06
through Bayoumi, gave Hazmi and Mihdhar \$25,000.00.
19:11
We have traced the exact money trail
19:14
from one of the dirty charities under scrutiny
19:18
into the hands of a Saudi government agent in L.A.
19:25
who ran of fake charity who sent the money to Karachi,
19:30
and then ultimately to Mohamed Atta in the Hamburg cell.
19:34
So the money trail was known.
19:37
The Saudi government officials,
19:40
in addition to introducing the two terrorists
19:45
to other people in the mosque, as I said,
19:47
start English lessons, gave them money, housing,
19:50
introduced them to Saudi military pilots,
19:55
who I believe, were instrumental
19:57
in training them to fly jets.
20:01
They did a little trip to Las Vegas.
20:04
I don't know, but I believe that they received training
20:07
from Saudi military pilots in the deserts around Las Vegas.

20:13

In a short period of time, the FBI was alerted

20:20

to the presence of Hazmi and Mihdhar.

20:23

Hazmi and Mihdhar are in fact roomed with an FBI informant.

20:29

The FBI did not arrest them,

20:32

did not question them, lost them.

20:37

The CIA, of course what they're doing is illegal,

20:40

and was probably under the mistaken approach

20:45

that they could turn the two and that the two terrorists

20:51

would help root out Saudi dissidents

20:54

who the royal family would have exterminated.

20:59

Later I'll talk about that,

21:01

I'll tell you a little bit about Khashoggi

21:06

and why he was killed, it's not because he was a dissident,

21:09

it's because of his contact with us.

21:14

If I don't get to it, remind me.

21:17

So the two terrorists are in the United States,

21:23

monitored, until they're lost by the FBI and the CIA.

21:28

And of course 9/11 happens.

21:31

Bob Mueller became director just, I think,

21:34

a week or two before 9/11.

21:38

What happened on 9/11?

21:42

It was the perfect storm to create the worst

21:47

and most pervasive cover-up in our nation's history.

21:55

When President Bush was told about the attack,

21:58

he was in Sarasota, Florida reading "Horton Does the Who",

22:03

written by one of our famous alumni, to a kindergarten class

22:09

when he was told about the attack.

22:11

The first words out of his mouth was, was it Saddam?

22:17

Remember how set he was upon killing Saddam Hussein,

22:22

who had vowed to kill his father,

22:24

the previous President Bush.

22:27

Bandar was maybe his closed friend,

22:30

been to the ranch in Crawford, Texas more than anybody else.

22:34

On 9/11 we were still dependent upon Saudi oil,

22:38

it's long before fracking.

22:42

President Bush was set upon using the 9/11 attack

22:46

as an excuse to go to war with Iraq and kill Saddam Hussein,

22:51

and who was our most important ally in that war?

22:55

Saudi Arabia.

22:57

So immediately,

23:03

he, and those close to him in the White House,

23:05

did not want to hear anything

23:07

about the Saudi government role in 9/11.

23:10

On the FBI front, Bob Mueller said, oh my God,

23:15

look at the mess I've inherited and this colossal failure.

23:21

This cannot see the light of day.

23:26

You would expect that the top counter-terrorism agents

23:31

in the FBI would be put in charge of the investigation.

23:36

One of them is now working with us,

23:39

and he and I are talking together everyday.

23:42

Bassem Youssef was the first Arabic speaking FBI agent,

23:47

the first agent to infiltrate al-Qaeda,

23:49

and turn a high level al-Qaeda operative.

23:53

He was the FBI legat in Saudi Arabia, and had been

23:57

with the King, and knows the Saudi's intimately.

24:01

Was he put in charge of any of the 9/11 flights

24:05

and their investigations?

24:07

Uh uh, he was kept away from 9/11.

24:12

Flight 77, the flight that crashed into the Pentagon,

24:16

Hazmi and Mihdhar, were two of the terrorists

24:19

on that flight.

24:21

Who was put in charge of investigating Flight 77,

24:25

where Hazmi and Mihdhar played the most important role

24:29

in planning the attack with the assistance

24:31

of Saudi government officials?

24:34

Who did Bob Mueller pick

24:36

to run probably the most important

24:38

of the four flights investigation?

24:41

Jackie Maguire was a probationary officer,

24:45

six months out of Quantico.

24:51

If you want to institute a cover-up,

24:55

you need a young, dumb kid who is going to follow orders.

25:05

Who was his new head of counter-terrorism?

25:08

Michael McGarrity who came from organized crime,

25:12

and organized crime is

25:13

a completely different model than terrorism.

25:17

Michael McGarrity is a principal architect today

25:21

of lying to the families and keeping the documents

25:24

that we know exist away from us.

25:29

In L.A., Steve Moore was put in charge

25:32

of a 400 person FBI team looking at the activities

25:38

of Hazmi and Mihdhar, and looking at Thumairy, Bayoumi,

25:43

and the other nine identified Saudi government officials.

25:48

Being in L.A. at 3:00 a.m. every morning

25:52

he would personally call Director Mueller.

25:55

He did it every 48 hours to update him on the investigation.

25:59

Mueller is reporting to the president for his daily,

26:03

President Bush, for his daily intelligence briefing.

26:07

Steve Moore is reporting to Director Mueller

26:11

on the progress they're making

26:13

in investigating Saudi government officials.

26:18

Enormous progress was made by the agents in the field

26:22
in the first two or three months, until Bob Mueller,
26:29
deputized Michael McGarrity and Jackie Maguire
26:32
to shut them down.
26:36
Subpoenas that have served would not be followed up.
26:39
Interviews were canceled.
26:41
It's over.
26:43
So when Dan said, why did the 9/11 commission
26:47
exonerate Saudi Arabia?
26:50
Because they were lied to
26:53
by Robert Mueller under oath in Congress
26:57
and others who did not want the commission to know
27:01
what role the Saudi government played,
27:04
because then Saudi Arabia is our ally
27:08
in the war against Iraq,
27:10
and he did not want the world to know
27:13
about this colossal intelligence
27:16
and law enforcement failure.
27:19
The investigation was dead.
27:23
The agents who were working the case
27:25
are disgusted, horrified,
27:29
and after a couple of years
27:32
when the 9/11 commission came out,
27:34
and they know what a lie it is,

27:39
on their own they resurrect the investigation.
27:43
In 2007 they go back to the witnesses
27:46
and start building the criminal case
27:49
that every one of them joined the FBI to do,
27:54
to investigate and prosecute crime,
27:58
not to be part of lying to America
28:02
and lying to the families of 3,000 murdered Americans.
28:07
Their investigation proceeded from 2007
28:13
until it was shut down
28:16
in February, March, and April of 2016.
28:23
At that point we had President Obama in the White House
28:27
and James Comey as Director of the FBI.
28:32
I was a fan until I learned this of President Obama,
28:38
Joe Biden's a friend, I was his New York chair
28:42
when he ran for president,
28:44
my dad and I helped him in 1988 in his campaign.
28:51
What President Obama did
28:54
is the most treacherous and outrageous act
28:59
I know of in our nation's history.
29:03
President Obama and John Kerry wanted the Iran nuclear deal
29:10
and the eventual normalization of relations with Iran
29:15
as their signature foreign policy achievement.
29:18
And it's a goal we all share.

29:20

It would be great if you could get Iran

29:22

to abandon nuclear weapons and change.

29:27

What was treasonous is the quid pro quo

29:31

he entered into with King Salman.

29:34

The Saudis and the Israelis, Netanyahu,

29:39

were the strongest opponents to the Iran nuclear deal.

29:43

Everyone, everyone in the room knows

29:45

there was no shaking Netanyahu

29:47

in opposing the Iran nuclear deal.

29:50

But Obama thought he could shake the Saudis

29:53

and get them to drop their opposition.

29:55

With their opposition and the Israelis

29:58

there was no chance of it passing the Senate.

30:01

So he cut a deal with King Salman.

30:05

And his deal was, I will kill the 9/11 litigation

30:09

if you stand down in opposing the Iran nuclear deal.

30:13

That deal was struck.

30:17

As we mentioned before, when Congress passed

30:21

JASTA overwhelmingly, Obama vetoed it.

30:26

The only veto of his presidency that was overridden,

30:30

and as I've said, overwritten 98 to one,

30:34

just Harry Reid dissented, and 346 to 77 in the House.

30:40

What I thought at the time was that's what Obama did

30:45

to kill the agents' investigation into 9/11.

30:53

What I didn't know when JASTA was passed then,

31:00

was what happened in the Bureau.

31:03

That's when James Comey had Michael McGarrity

31:08

and Jackie Maguire shut down

31:10

the resurrected FBI investigation.

31:14

You know, being at Dartmouth,

31:18

the room is filled with smart people,

31:20

and you're thinking like,

31:21

how does this guy know any of that?

31:24

The answer is, after all these years,

31:27

the agents who have worked the case,

31:30

many of them have retired, and they've come to us and said,

31:34

here's what we know, we want to finish

31:37

what we started when we joined the Bureau.

31:40

The only way for the truth to come out

31:44

is for us to join with you.

31:46

So when we demand documents from the FBI

31:51

and the Department of Justice,

31:52

we know exactly what we're looking for.

31:55

So we have been in a fight, not just with Saudi Arabia,

32:01

oh, JASTA, Saudi Arabia hired 19 lobby firms,

32:09

and my estimate is they were paid

32:14
something between \$50 and a \$100 million a year
32:18
to lobby against us and kill JASTA.
32:22
They enlisted Veterans and put them up
32:24
at the Trump Hotel, and steak dinners and said,
32:26
help us get rid of this stupid law,
32:28
without telling the Veterans
32:31
that they were going to be screwing the 9/11 families.
32:35
That JASTA was the law the families needed
32:38
to lift the legal immunity that Saudi Arabia claimed.
32:43
So we overrode the veto, we beat the Saudi lobbyists,
32:47
JASTA became law, and we started our lawsuit
32:51
against Saudi Arabia in 2016,
32:55
15 years after we've been engaged in this war.
33:01
The Saudis were shocked.
33:03
They've got the king on their side, King Obama.
33:08
They're spending \$50 million.
33:11
How can a bunch of cripples and widows and orphans
33:14
hobbling around Congress beat them?
33:18
So when I said at the beginning,
33:20
you will be revolted by what our government did,
33:23
but thrilled with what Americans can accomplish,
33:28
that is what I'm talking about.
33:31
A few dozen families saying,

33:34
we're going to knock on every door
33:36
and buttonhole senators and congressmen,
33:39
beat Obama and beat the Saudi lobby.
33:43
And now I'm waxing patriotic,
33:45
there's no other country in the world
33:47
where that could happen.
33:49
In our battle with Saudi Arabia, not surprisingly,
33:53
they're lying about the documents and keeping it from us,
33:56
and they've got a lot of high priced lawyers,
33:58
and that's a tough fight.
34:00
The fight we should not be having
34:02
is the fight we have on a second front
34:06
against the FBI and the Department of Justice.
34:11
Now we had served FOIA requests,
34:14
Freedom of Information requests,
34:17
to get documents we know are in the FBI files
34:21
on the investigation of the Saudi government officials.
34:24
Here's some of the answers we got
34:27
to our FOIA requests, early on.
34:31
The documents you seek contain information
34:35
about Osama Bin Laden.
34:38
We will not give them to you
34:41
because of his privacy interest in that information.

34:48

Another one was, oh, we're not giving you any documents

34:52

unless you produce death certificates for the 19 terrorists.

34:58

This is our government.

35:00

This is coming from the Department of Justice.

35:03

So we have asked for these files,

35:06

we've been fighting this fight in court

35:08

for a year and a half, the FBI has given us some documents.

35:13

Five tranches or batches.

35:16

What they give us has redacted information.

35:19

So I told you, the name of the high Saudi official

35:22

in Washington, D.C., who tasked Thumairy, that was redacted.

35:29

And what we have were given under a protective order

35:33

that precludes us from telling the families

35:37

and speaking about it publicly.

35:39

And I'm disgusted with these protective orders,

35:42

and we're doing whatever we can to overturn them.

35:46

But the judge is not terribly sympathetic.

35:51

So we know, for example, that in early 2016

35:57

when the investigation was shut down,

35:59

as I said, March, April,

36:01

the agents wrote a big summary

36:04

on their findings, it's there.

36:06

It has this vast body of information

36:09
about who, what, where, and how
36:12
the Saudi government officials acted
36:15
as the essential accomplices to al-Qaeda.
36:18
We've asked for it, we haven't gotten it.
36:21
The Senate unanimously passed a resolution,
36:25
Resolution 610 calling upon the declassification
36:29
and the release of this information.
36:32
The FBI has ignored what, you know, how many times
36:37
do you get the Senate to do anything unanimously now?
36:39
The FBI has ignored it.
36:41
The Justice Department has ignored it.
36:43
I and some of the families
36:45
were with President Trump on 9/11.
36:47
The next day, Attorney General Barr invoked State secrets
36:54
and National Security as an excuse
36:57
to keep the FBI documents hidden.
37:01
We're fighting that.
37:02
We have some champions.
37:05
Tomorrow Tulsi Gabbard at 1:00 o'clock
37:09
will hold a press conference saying,
37:11
release the information to the families.
37:14
So luckily we've got a lot of people fighting this fight.
37:20
But we should not have to be fighting our own government.

37:28

We're making progress in court.

37:32

But for us to win in court could take

37:34

another five or 10 years.

37:36

So we're trying to enlist support in Washington

37:42

for us to get the documents,

37:43

because if we get the FBI files,

37:46

the Saudis know the game is up.

37:49

And probably all of you have been reading about

37:53

Saudi Arabia's desire to take Aramco public,

37:59

do the IPO for 5% of the company,

38:03

a company that will be worth between,

38:05

depending upon the estimates, \$1.3 to \$2 trillion,

38:13

and New York is the preferred venue

38:15

over Hong Kong or London.

38:19

So we're operating in Washington

38:23

to try and get support there because there's no way

38:31

that us and the families are going to stand

38:34

for taking Aramco public a 100 yards away from Ground Zero.

38:40

So Saudi Arabia has to resolve the 9/11 case

38:45

for the Aramco IPO in New York to happen in my opinion.

38:50

So our fight is on two fronts in court,

38:53

with Saudi Arabia and with the FBI,

38:57

and daily interaction with people in Washington

39:01

who can help us and persuade MBS,

39:07

who was 15 when 9/11 occurred, to engage and resolve 9/11.

39:15

Oh, Khashoggi, you want to hear about Khashoggi?

39:19

- [Audience] Yes.

39:19

- Okay.

39:20

So MBS's younger brother KBS was at age 28

39:28

Saudi Ambassador to the United States.

39:31

You may remember after Khashoggi was murdered

39:34

the NSA released some intercepts with communications

39:39

from Khashoggi's phone to others,

39:42

and that contained an intercept of communication

39:46

between Khashoggi's phone and KBS's phone.

39:50

Within 24 hours of that information

39:55

being released by the NSA,

39:57

KBS, what's the proper verb?

40:03

Did a tweet, tweeted the following message,

40:07

I've not spoken to Khashoggi.

40:10

I only texted him, and my last text was October 26th, 2017.

40:19

Something, now that's, why put the date in?

40:21

That's weird.

40:22

So the best investigator in the world,

40:26

who knows more about al-Qaeda and their financing,

40:30

than a 100 people combined,

40:33

they said, John, what happened that day?

40:36

He said, oh, that's the day one of our investigators

40:39

met with Khashoggi in D.C.,

40:42

'cause Khashoggi was part of the intelligence community.

40:46

We knew he knew a lot

40:48

about Saudi government involvement in 9/11.

40:51

And I said, would you come to New York and talk to my boss?

40:54

He said, yeah, I would do that.

40:57

So I'm sure that as soon as she left,

41:00

he called KBS and said, look, the 9/11 lawyers are onto me.

41:06

They know that I know what you guys did.

41:09

Now, I didn't give them anything.

41:11

But you're holding my kid in Saudi Arabia,

41:14

you harm one hair on his head, and I will.

41:18

So my belief is Khashoggi was killed

41:22

not because he was a dissident, there's a lot of dissidents,

41:25

but because he was holding this ax over the Saudis' head.

41:30

So our fight continues.

41:36

I could be doing this for another 10 or 15 years,

41:40

but I am hopeful that, with the enthusiasm

41:47

and aid and support by people in Washington

41:51

we can kind of break through

41:53

and bring Saudi Arabia to the table,

41:57

because I know eventually they're going to lose,

41:59

and engaging sooner would be better

42:03

than all these details eventually coming out.

42:07

So, should I stop now and do some questions?

42:11

- [Daniel] Sure.

42:12

Why don't we sit down.

42:14

- Okay, that sounds good.

42:15

(chuckling)

42:20

- And I'll ask a few questions,

42:22

and then before I'm stampeded

42:25

we'll turn it over to the audience.

42:27

(audience laughing)

42:31

So, it's a lot for me to wrap my mind around.

42:33

I'm going to have to completely rewrite my book.

42:37

(audience laughing)

42:38

- We can coauthor the next one.

42:40

- Yeah, well if you give every different version

42:43

you can corner the market, right?

42:45

So let's drill down a bit.

42:50

From my work I know that the way

42:54

that some of these Saudi NGOs worked is

42:56

that you might have management

42:59

that was not criminally inclined,

43:02
but that there were sort of rotten veins,
43:04
that there were corrupt lines of communications,
43:08
and terrorist operations were being supported
43:12
in different countries by people who are operating
43:15
without the authorization
43:17
of the head of these very large NGOs, in some cases.
43:24
Is it your claim that the Saudi government officials
43:30
were in effect operating in the same sort of way?
43:34
Or is it your claim that responsibility goes very high
43:38
in the Saudi government?
43:39
- Yeah, I don't know how high it goes
43:42
in the Saudi government.
43:43
I'd say this.
43:45
Given Saudi Arabia, we think of a church-state distinction.
43:51
That doesn't exist there.
43:53
So to me, the charities are part of the Saudi government.
43:59
It's part of the mission of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs.
44:04
And they all have profit-making components,
44:07
whether it's growing poppy,
44:09
the walnut trade with Turkey's president
44:12
when he was mayor of Istanbul,
44:14
King Salman was involved in that.
44:17
And they cornered the walnut market

44:20
and money is being diverted to al-Qaeda.
44:23
So I think it was a government role.
44:30
My real pitch, if MBS is sitting right next to me now,
44:36
I would say this is the time to engage.
44:39
Right now we have taken culpability
44:42
to 11 Saudi government officials in the United States.
44:46
It's going to go up the totem pole eventually
44:49
if we're forced to keep fighting.
44:52
- So that raises a good question.
44:55
MBS, I would say, is not in great odor these days
44:58
because of Khashoggi and Yemen,
45:01
kidnapping the Lebanese Prime Minister,
45:04
the blockade against Qatar, a few other things,
45:08
small business, all of them,
45:10
but the one thing that he has done
45:13
that has earned him a lot of positive reviews in the West
45:18
is bringing the religious establishment to heel,
45:21
and supposedly putting modernizers in charge
45:25
of these enormous organizations,
45:27
the World Association of Muslim Youth,
45:30
the International Islamic Relief Organization,
45:32
and so on and so forth.
45:34
If he can make a compensation without admitting

45:43
that the royal family, for example, was involved,
45:45
that these were all unauthorized activities,
45:50
why hasn't he done that?
45:53
- I don't think he knows about it, and is engaged,
45:55
but you're right, he has said there's nothing magical
46:00
about 1979 and Wahhabism over the last 30 years.
46:05
So if you were he, I would say
46:09
in keeping with what you're doing,
46:12
you have actions taken by Saudi government officials
46:17
when you were 15 under an old regime.
46:20
You can demonstrate your commitment
46:23
to a more inclusive form of Islam by moving past that.
46:28
And Bassem told me a story.
46:32
The first day that President Sisi was in office
46:36
after the Muslim Brotherhood,
46:38
he went to the home of a woman
46:40
who had been kidnapped and beaten
46:42
by the Muslim Brotherhood, and washed her feet.
46:47
And in that world, he's not saying I did it,
46:51
I'm not responsible
46:53
for what the Muslim Brotherhood has done.
46:56
But as the new, current head of the country,
46:58
it's incumbent upon me to demonstrate

47:02
our desire to move past a painful past.
47:06
So I think it's the perfect narrative.
47:08
Our challenge is you can't get through
47:13
150 U.S. lawyers and functionaries to him in court.
47:24
- Well, they do have a significant part
47:27
of Washington, D.C. on their payroll.
47:29
So there are a number of channels you could use there.
47:32
I'll give you some names afterwards.
47:36
So one, I'm going to press you,
47:38
here's one problem I have with the narrative.
47:41
And that is the role of Bob Mueller.
47:43
Since I worked closely with Bob Mueller,
47:45
and in my view he's the straightest of straight arrows,
47:49
and if he saw something as horrible as you're suggesting,
47:59
I would find it kind of out of character
48:00
that he would want to hush it up.
48:02
Now as we have discussed earlier, there's no question
48:05
that in Washington there was a sense
48:07
that the CIA had failed,
48:10
but the FBI had failed catastrophically.
48:12
And that there was a danger that the FBI was going to be
48:15
so demoralized by this failure that it would not recover.
48:21
But even so, I have to say, I'm,

48:25

I question whether it's Mueller.

48:27

Isn't there someone further down the line who might have?

48:29

- Bob Mueller in 2003 testifies in Congress,

48:34

until the formation of the 9/11 Commission,

48:37

I had no information

48:40

that Saudi government officials were involved.

48:43

Steve Moore has testified under oath,

48:46

I was briefing Bob Mueller every 48 hours.

48:51

- [Dam] So it's one of those things?

48:53

Yeah.

48:54

- It's one of those things,

48:56

but look at the circumstances

49:00

and who was an incentive to continue,

49:05

it's like Watergate, you know, you do one bad thing

49:10

and then you start trying to keep pushing it under the rug

49:13

deeper and deeper and lying and lying.

49:17

And as between Steve Moore and what the agents were doing.

49:22

why would Steve Moore and others make up a lie

49:25

about talking to Mueller?

49:27

And in fact, we know, we can trace their movements.

49:34

The 9/11 Commission says, for example, there's no evidence

49:39

that Thumairy met Hazmi and Mihdhar directly.

49:43

We have direct evidence of six meetings.

49:46

- [Daniel] There's a discrepancy there.

49:48

- Yeah, that's one way to put it.

49:50

Yeah. - Yeah.

49:54

In your view, does one of the things

49:57

that analysts have picked up on and often criticized,

50:01

is why was the entire Bin Laden family

50:04

quickly hustled out of the country,

50:06

is that something that also plays a role in your assessment?

50:11

- Yeah, I have no doubt that that immediately Bandar said,

50:14

oh, look, the public's going to be up in arms,

50:18

we got to get all these innocent people out of there.

50:21

But you look at every one of the Saudi government officials

50:26

who were involved and we want to depose, they were all

50:30

either voluntarily or deported to Saudi Arabia.

50:35

I mean, you take a step back,

50:38

here's the largest murder in U.S. history.

50:43

Anyone, me, you, you know when law enforcement,

50:46

you have one active shooter, there's going to be

50:50

15 witnesses who got him lunch and a car or whatever.

50:57

Not a single person has been arrested or indicted.

51:03

So there was a concerted effort

51:05

to move the Saudi Arabian officials,

51:08

and other Saudi Arabians who were involved,

51:11
out of the country.
51:12
And obviously they're not coming back now.
51:16
- So there is one other conspirator at least
51:18
who's in jail, Moussaoui.
51:20
- Yeah.
51:20
- Has he provided any information?
51:21
- Yeah, so, my team went to Supermax and talked to--
51:26
- In Florence, Colorado?
51:27
- Yeah, and talked to Moussaoui.
51:28
And he had some interesting things to say.
51:30
Some, I've got to think of what's under
51:33
this hated protective order and what isn't.
51:38
The one thing I can say is
51:40
Moussaoui was not the 20th hijacker.
51:42
We know who, or are sure who the 20th is,
51:45
and it's not Moussaoui, it's somebody else.
51:49
And just as an aside, one flight was a hijacker short,
51:57
I have no way of knowing this, but I think the reason why
52:05
the 9/11 attacks occurred that day was
52:12
the dogs were onto them, and I think they feared
52:16
that they were going to be unmasked.
52:20
So I think the attack may have been rushed.
52:27
I'm going to digress a little bit, you know, the Cole,

52:30

so Hazmi and Mihdhar go down to San Diego.

52:33

The Cole's sister ship, the John Paul Jones was there.

52:37

We believe they scouted out the John Paul Jones,

52:40

and observed how ships could approach, and that information,

52:43

when one of them went back and spoke to Bin Laden,

52:47

was given in use for the Cole attack.

52:49

I also think that their initial reason

52:53

for going to San Diego was to launch a terror attack

52:56

on the Ronald Reagan, the nuclear powered aircraft carrier,

53:01

which was mysteriously moved from San Diego

53:04

to Norfolk, Virginia that summer.

53:07

Now since the CIA has been tracking them, I am sure,

53:11

my own guess is CIA to the Defense Department,

53:18

you better move the Ronald Reagan.

53:21

- [Daniel] So last question, have you had any conversations

53:24

with any Saudi officials about this?

53:25

- No.

53:26

- No? - None.

53:28

- [Daniel] By choice, or they won't take the meeting?

53:30

- Well, the way it would work is I could talk

53:34

to their lawyer who's gone up and paid whatever, you know,

53:38

\$50 million to defend the case, and say,

53:40

why don't we talk settlement, and it's going to go nowhere.

53:44

The only way it will happen is from the top.

53:48

For MBS to say to someone, why we don't explore

53:52

some possibilities of resolution?

53:55

- Did we just lose a mic?

53:56

- Was that me?

53:58

Okay, can you hear me okay?

54:00

- [Audience] Yeah.

54:01

- Okay, I must have squirmed.

54:04

- Okay, questions, please.

54:07

- Yeah.

54:08

- Oh wait, can you just wait for the microphone

54:11

so that posterity will know your question?

54:15

- [Woman] Thank you.

54:17

- [Male Audience Member] I can't assume

54:18

that Mueller was acting independently or on his own actions,

54:22

so what was the connection with Bush, and--

54:24

- We can't hear you.

54:25

- Move it closer. - Speak up.

54:27

- Yeah.

54:28

- [Male Audience Member] I assume that Mueller

54:31

wasn't acting independently and on his own initiative,

54:33

so what was the connection with the Bush?

54:36

- My own belief is given President Bush's affinity

54:43
with Bandar and the Saudis, and his desire
54:47
to go to war with Iraq with the Saudis,
54:50
he and others made it perfectly clear we don't want to hear
54:54
anything about others who were involved.
54:58
Particularly a key ally whose oil we needed.
55:03
I have no reason to think that President Bush
55:08
ever talked to Bob Mueller about this directly.
55:11
My own belief is Mueller had his own interest
55:16
in the story not coming out, and it perfectly coincided
55:22
with President Bush who wanted a close relationship
55:26
with Saudi Arabia for the war in Iraq.
55:32
- Let me just ask, do we have any students first of all?
55:35
No, well in that case,
55:37
wait, we have a student.
55:41
- Hi, I'm Matt.
55:42
- [Jim] Hi, Matt.
55:43
- So, if you think that this was mostly Saudi driven,
55:47
what do you think this says about
55:50
the kind of surveillance and suspension of habeas corpus
55:55
that President Bush activated after 9/11?
56:02
- I think it's independent.
56:06
There was a lot of hysteria after 9/11,
56:10
and a lot of, you know, outrageous bigotry

56:14
that you saw reflected in officials' actions in legislation.
56:20
But I don't think that had any cause and effect or any nexus
56:25
with what the Saudi government officials had done.
56:29
In fact, you know,
56:33
you can play the imaginary game of let's go back in time,
56:38
and had it been handled differently,
56:41
and look, I'm a big believer in being truthful,
56:47
and I think it could have been a very different world
56:50
if instead of what happened said, okay,
56:53
there's Saudi government officials involved.
56:56
We're identifying the ones who were involved.
56:59
The Saudi government is responsible
57:01
for the actions of its officials.
57:04
But this is not an indictment of the Islamic world.
57:09
I think we'd all be in a way better place.
57:18
- Okay, just to clarify, sorry,
57:20
I kind of meant, I didn't say this,
57:25
but of Iranian officials and Iranian citizens.
57:28
I didn't say that, but.
57:30
- Yeah, so we have a judgment against Iran
57:33
for the 9/11 victims, and Iran played a role.
57:38
A small role compared to al-Qaeda.
57:41
Here's what Iran did.

57:47
Eight or nine of the hijackers transited Iran
57:53
on the way to the Afghan al-Qaeda training camps.
57:58
Iranian officials, knowing they were al-Qaeda,
58:01
and they had special markers in their passports
58:04
indicating they were al-Qaeda,
58:06
did not stamp their passports with an Iranian stamp.
58:10
An Iranian stamp in their passports
58:13
would have made it impossible for them to get U.S. visas.
58:16
So one of the weird things is we tend to think
58:20
that there's no cooperation, but there was a nexus
58:24
between Iran and al-Qaeda, Saudi Arabia and al-Qaeda,
58:28
other terror groups.
58:30
There were occasions
58:32
when all their interests would coalesce.
58:35
So that's what Iran did.
58:41
And that's why we have huge judgments against Iran.
58:45
But Iran's role compared to Saudi Arabia's role is small,
58:51
because Iran's role was not operational control.
58:54
It was Revolutionary Guard, al-Qaeda,
59:00
meetings and sharing information.
59:05
The weird thing, I've talked about these terror conventions,
59:08
and it's like data technology people's conventions
59:15
or automotive conventions,

59:17
they all get together and say, oh, what's working?
59:20
What's a hot idea?
59:21
Let's share some ideas.
59:27
- So actually, I want to follow up on that
59:29
because you started saying something
59:32
when you were at the podium,
59:34
and then I don't think you made the connection.
59:36
How do we get from the Vincennes to the Bojinka plot?
59:40
- Yeah.
59:41
So after the Vincennes was shot down, Iran vowed revenge.
59:48
Iran then, and still today, is working
59:51
through other terror groups,
59:54
Palestinian General Command, Hamas, et cetera.
60:00
Khalid Sheikh Mohammed was kind of a freelancer.
60:03
So in the groups talking about how to wreak revenge,
60:11
they came up with the idea of,
60:13
for Iran, we're going to destroy 10 aircraft.
60:17
And remember the two Air India planes, East and West,
60:21
were bombed, I think that was part of the Bojinka plot.
60:25
So here's how they all would cooperate and morph.
60:32
So a popular front for the liberation
60:36
of Palestine General Command has a cell in Germany.
60:40
They've built 10 IEDs, Improvised Explosive Devices

60:46
to be put in checked luggage to blow up U.S. air carriers.
60:51
The German police raid the cell in Neuss, Germany,
60:55
October of 1988, disrupting this plot.
60:59
That's when the Iranians
61:01
subcontracted their attack to Gaddafi.
61:06
Reputedly, Gaddafi was paid \$10 million by Iran
61:11
for having the JSO, it's his intelligence agency,
61:15
do the Pan Am 103 plot.
61:19
Symbolically and intentionally,
61:21
we insisted upon a payment of \$10 million per death
61:25
for each of the 270 murdered people in Pan Am 103.
61:30
So the world is filled with coincidences.
61:36
Captain Macquarrie was the captain of Pan Am flight 103.
61:40
His son flew the lead F-16 in the Tripoli bombing.
61:48
- [Daniel] Interesting.
61:49
Okay, more questions?
61:52
Right there, you've been very patient.
61:55
- Hi, my name is Liz.
61:57
- [Jim] Hi, Liz.
61:58
- I have a very basic question about the mental state
62:01
of King Bin Salman, because I was under the impression
62:04
that right when he became king, he was out to lunch.
62:09
So you were talking about Obama and he negotiating,

62:17

but I didn't even think he was making decisions back then.

62:20

- [Jim] The previous king.

62:21

- [Daniel] King Abdullah.

62:22

- Abdullah, okay, thank you.

62:27

But was, is Salman capable of making decision?

62:32

- I don't know.

62:34

The stories you read is MBS is the effective head

62:39

of the Saudi government, although we saw Salman step in

62:43

and pull back the IPO a year ago.

62:48

And there was some supposition

62:50

that MBS might be removed as Crown Prince.

62:56

- [Liz] That would be great.

62:58

(chuckling)

62:58

- Well, you know, yes and no, I mean...

63:06

The notion of being able with impunity

63:13

to kill someone who threatens your nation

63:16

is not a notion unique to him in that country or that world.

63:22

So I don't know.

63:28

When he removed Prince Nayef, Prince Nayef was Crown Prince,

63:32

and he was Deputy Crown Prince, and he bumped out Nayef,

63:35

and kind of held him--

63:36

- [Daniel] Muhammad Bin Nayef.

63:37

- Yeah, held him hostage, and there was a real power play

63:42

among these two branches of the royal family,

63:46

and MBS seems to have won out.

63:49

- Have you had any contact with anyone at Guantanamo?

63:53

- No, we've asked for permission to depose some of them,

63:59

and that's been granted in theory,

64:01

and in theory we're going to take those depositions.

64:05

And I have mixed feelings about those depositions.

64:11

Frankly I don't think it's essential for our case.

64:14

And I don't know that anyone there

64:19

could or would provide meaningful information

64:24

on what Saudi government officials did.

64:29

- I'm looking on this side of the room, back here.

64:36

- What would have been the geopolitical objective

64:38

of the high Saudi officials involved in this plot,

64:43

in this 9/11 plot?

64:45

Did they achieve it?

64:47

And what would be the result

64:50

of there being some 'fessing-up for having done so?

64:55

- Yeah.

64:56

Well I don't know who the highest officials were.

65:01

My guess is personal advancement.

65:07

Support from the Wahhabi Muwahs

65:11

for actively assisting Bin Laden.

65:15

And there's this universal, Imam-U,

65:18

and that's where all the imams are trained

65:21

and the Saudi government officials

65:23

who populate the Ministry of Islamic Affairs.

65:26

So you have this ministry directly dedicated

65:32

to the spread of Wahhabism.

65:34

If you'd ask me what would be a great thing for MBS to do?

65:40

Would be to say, I as a young man, I'm turning the page

65:45

on what some people in our government did 20 years ago,

65:50

'cause the planning is now more than 20 years ago,

65:53

and I am disbanding or altering

65:58

the Ministry of Islamic Affairs.

66:03

That's the best way to lend teeth to his statement

66:07

I'm clamping down on the Wahhabi extremists.

66:18

- Hi, my name is Jim.

66:19

And we were in Iran a couple of years ago.

66:21

And what the Iranians say, first of all,

66:24

they're very pro-American

66:25

if you talk to people on the street.

66:28

They're very welcoming to Americans.

66:30

What they say is we are surrounded by hostile people,

66:34

the Saudis, the Israelis, they want to kill us.

66:37

They've tried to destroy us.

66:39

And all we want to do is protect ourselves.

66:42

They say they don't have an Air Force.

66:45

So what do you say to that argument?

66:50

- (chuckling) I, you know, I don't know.

66:56

There have been and there are times

66:59

when the Saudis and the Iranians cooperate.

67:04

So clearly, each of them is saying

67:08

we are the threatened party under attack,

67:10

and we're protecting themselves.

67:13

I mean that's why, you know, when I talk about

67:16

President Obama and this deal.

67:19

I would love to see a de-nuclearized,

67:24

and Iran open and accessible to the West and at peace.

67:30

My own, let me add one other thing.

67:34

These wars serve a purpose.

67:37

So the war in Yemen is the way in which

67:41

MBS has made his wealth in the post-oil era.

67:48

You go back 20 years ago, and you had to, you know,

67:52

you want a deal, you want Saudi oil,

67:54

you have to pay big bribes.

67:56

Now any contract, anything the Saudis buy,

68:01

a percentage, 25%, 30%, has to be paid

68:06

to a local Saudi company

68:09
to help rejuvenate the Saudi economy.
68:14
Well guess who owns those local companies.
68:17
So if you need to generate,
68:22
if you need to buy billions and billions of dollars of arms
68:27
and nuclear power plants from Westinghouse and others,
68:31
you need a war to justify all those arms or a potential war
68:37
with a country like Iran.
68:39
So it relates to your question.
68:44
I think there's an enormous amount
68:47
of personal interest at play rather than ideology.
68:55
But I'm no expert.
68:58
I've never been to either country.
69:00
It's just from what I'm gathering
69:04
in a tangential way with my work.
69:11
- [Daniel] How 'about right over here.
69:16
- Thanks.
69:17
Thanks for coming.
69:18
My name's Luke.
69:19
So, just trying to understand then,
69:21
motivation on the U.S. side.
69:23
Are you claiming then that President Bush's motivation
69:26
for invading Iraq was sort of family-related
69:30
because he wanted just revenge for his father,

69:32

and he was completely ignoring any sort of other motivation?

69:37

It was purely like a, you're thinking

69:38

sort of a psychological analysis of President Bush then?

69:43

- Yes.

69:45

(audience laughing)

69:45

- Okay, that was the shortest answer of the day.

69:47

- [Luke] Nice, thank you.

69:48

- How 'about right here while we're,

69:51

Victor, hand that over here.

69:53

- [Female Assistant] I've got it.

69:54

- And remember, after 9/11, you got to do something.

70:00

You want a war to show we're hitting back.

70:03

So I think he had his antipathy toward Saddam Hussein,

70:07

and he needed an enemy and he needed a target.

70:12

- [Male Audience Member] So you mentioned,

70:13

Jim here, you mentioned that Attorney General Barr

70:16

suppressed release of the FBI report.

70:21

Have you had any other interactions

70:23

with the current Administration,

70:24

or any smoke signals from them that indicate a change

70:27

in approach to your litigation?

70:30

- Here's what I think, yes.

70:32

We had a very positive meeting with President Trump on 9/11.

70:38
Bill Barr is new to this.
70:42
Here's the point.
70:44
We've been seeking specific documents,
70:46
the 2012 FBI summary, 2016, the evidence referred to
70:52
as to what this high Saudi government official did.
70:59
Legally, to invoke National Security and State Secrets,
71:03
it has to be personally done by the head of the agency.
71:08
It can only be done by Bill Barr personally.
71:12
Now, we got an affidavit from Bill Barr
71:16
and Michael McGarrity.
71:18
Michael McGarrity says there's an active investigation,
71:21
which is a complete lie,
71:22
and National Security and State Secrets justified
71:26
keeping this information from the families.
71:28
In his affidavit, Bill Barr did not say,
71:33
I have personally reviewed these documents,
71:37
and I personally have determined that their release
71:42
would threaten National Security and State Secrets.
71:45
So I think government and bureaucracy,
71:49
you know better than I, I think he had a report
71:52
from McGarrity and others,
71:55
this is going to jeopardize an active investigation
71:58
and we need you to sign an affidavit, so he did.

72:01

And keep in mind what is remarkable

72:04

and offensive about this.

72:06

There are many cases where the government has invoked

72:09

National Security and State Secrets.

72:13

Every one of those cases involves CIA activities

72:18

in another country, intelligence in another country.

72:23

There has never been a case of domestic murder

72:28

where National Security and State Secrets were involved.

72:33

Now 9/11 is still a mass murder case

72:38

in our country to be investigated

72:41

and the perpetrators and their accomplices prosecuted.

72:46

And the reason that hasn't happened

72:49

is the identity of those accomplices, and in my opinion,

72:56

the intelligence and law-enforcement failure

72:59

from January 15th, '99 through 9/11.

73:06

- [Male Audience Member] I can talk loud.

73:08

Oh, okay.

73:08

- It's for the recording.

73:10

- Why then did they release the name of the third person,

73:16

who you now believe, or have now learned,

73:19

was a Saudi government official, why did they,

73:23

I mean, they gave you that, they threw that bone,

73:26

but they gave you nothing else.

73:28

Why did they give you that name?

73:29

- The families were personally asking for it.

73:32

So if you're going to handle it on a superficial level,

73:38

I mean, we have said, there is a file,

73:41

we need to see the file, we need to see the evidence,

73:44

and the most outrageous example

73:47

is keeping from the families the name and identity

73:50

of the higher official and what he did.

73:53

So when you deal at the highest levels of government,

73:56

with the presidency, you get,

73:57

yeah we're going to help, give him the name.

74:02

So I am optimistic that we're going to be able

74:07

to break through.

74:09

I don't think,

74:13

certainly the President or Bill Barr personally, you know,

74:16

has any familiarity with all this,

74:20

and I'm trying to encourage them.

74:24

Friday will be, the government's papers are due on Friday.

74:28

We filed a motion to give us this information.

74:31

So I am hoping that we can get the attention,

74:38

the challenge is not to convince the highest people,

74:43

the President, you know, Bill Barr.

74:46

The challenge in dealing with the Administration

74:49
is to get them to focus sufficiently
74:53
to overcome what I see is a clear cover-up
74:58
being perpetrated by McGarrity and McGuire.
75:01
And to state the obvious, when the news is,
75:06
other than Baghdadi, is impeachment, impeachment.
75:09
And everything else, it is enormously hard to break through.
75:19
I get called an optimist 'cause I've been doing this
75:21
for 19 years and I'm never going to stop.
75:23
And I am certain we're going to win.
75:26
It's not that I'm optimistic about winning,
75:29
it's we're telling the truth and we're right,
75:32
and eventually the stars will align so we get the attention
75:37
of the people with real control who can make it right.
75:41
And I think it's going to happen,
75:43
but the challenge I see in Washington
75:47
is to overcome the power and influence of those
75:52
who have been perpetrating the cover-up
75:54
and get the time and attention
75:57
from those who can do something about it.
76:01
- [Male Audience Member] If you were granted
76:04
everything that you're going for,
76:06
every court, every fight that you're in,
76:08
if you're granted everything,

76:10

could you give all of us some idea of the result, the fate,

76:14

of those in Washington and those in Saudi Arabia

76:18

that would be the result of your having everything?

76:22

- I don't know.

76:24

I mean, I think the whole story will come out eventually.

76:30

And the Obama-Salman deal is going to change

76:35

the way history sees President Obama.

76:38

I think MBS has an opportunity with us

76:45

to really move Saudi Arabia forward.

76:48

If they stopped thinking of us

76:50

as an enemy to be quashed and defeated by lobbyists,

76:55

but an opportunity to move past a problem they have

76:59

that isn't going to go away and only get worse,

77:03

you know, history could be kind to him.

77:08

Oh, you know, I keep, other things come to mind,

77:13

which is something you'll be interested in knowing.

77:16

The mastermind of Khashoggi's murder, Qahtani,

77:20

is one of the people who is very close to MBS.

77:24

He is not one of the 11 charged

77:27

with murder or crimes in Saudi Arabia.

77:31

Qahtani is the man who tried to kill JASTA.

77:35

He's on the FARA forms hiring the Washington, D.C. lobbyists

77:40

to prevent JASTA from becoming law.

77:43

So you have this weird scenario

77:47

where everything, everything coalesces.

77:54

And if he wants to get past the Khashoggi murder and 9/11,

78:02

here you have the man who was instrumental

78:05

in one physical murder and an attempted murder

78:09

of legislation that freed the families to sue Saudi Arabia.

78:14

- So, I have a question for you.

78:18

Having paid my dues in the government, I am quite sure that

78:25

pretty much every general counsel and every agency

78:29

would have been lobbying the White House

78:31

to preserve sovereign immunities.

78:36

And I guess the question that I have then is,

78:42

and I think the President would have been naturally inclined

78:45

to preserve sovereign immunities,

78:47

and therefore to veto JASTA.

78:49

What is the evidence that there was some kind of deal

78:53

with the Saudis in return for which

78:57

they would not campaign against the Iran nuclear deal?

79:01

Because as far as I can tell, they campaigned pretty heavily

79:04

against the Iranian nuclear deal.

79:07

- Well they stopped, they did, and then all of a sudden

79:10

they stood down for a six month period and then it's passed.

79:14

So, there's two answers.

79:16

One I know but I can't tell you.

79:19

Which is--

79:20

- [Daniel] I hate that answer.

79:21

- I know.

79:23

The second part of the answer is, you know better than I,

79:29

but there must be, and I'm sure there are,

79:31

extensive White House memoranda prepared,

79:35

'cause he didn't go into that meeting alone,

79:38

between translators and others.

79:41

So I am sure that the documentation is there,

79:46

but it's never seen the light of day.

79:48

And on that score, you know it's funny,

79:51

with all the talk about the Dark State,

79:55

to me there really is a Dark State,

79:58

but no one is talking about who and what and where it is,

80:02

'cause this is the Dark State, not, in my opinion,

80:08

not all this other stuff.

80:10

- Yeah.

80:10

So we have, I'm not going to call them out,

80:12

I'm not going to embarrass them, but we have at least

80:14

two or three Deep-Staters in the audience,

80:17

and I know that you have, as a litigator, a thick skin,

80:21

so I invite them to, if they have any critiques,

80:24
if they want to put them forward,
80:26
but since I will protect sources and methods
80:29
I won't point them out unless they raise their hands.
80:33
Are you a Deep-Stater?
80:35
(audience laughing)
80:36
You could have fooled me.
80:41
- If I may, I've used my role as a mic passer
80:43
to ask you a question.
80:46
Seeing as you can't really provide
80:47
the full details of this case or of this process,
80:52
what do you think this, that the narrative
80:55
that you are describing might,
80:57
I'm sorry, how do you think
80:58
the narrative you're describing might impact the perception
81:01
of American-Middle Eastern relations, et cetera,
81:03
since people are allowed to come to the conclusions
81:05
that are perhaps unsubstantiated by true details
81:10
that you may not be able to communicate,
81:12
or that you might not be sure on?
81:14
- Well, there's two reasons I can't provide all the details.
81:19
One is time, and the other is these protective orders.
81:23
So it is the Justice Department,
81:27
with the blessing of the court,

81:28
that has ordered us to not reveal
81:32
any of the material we're given
81:33
under the protective orders we hate.
81:37
All I can tell you is what I'm doing,
81:40
or trying to do here in an hour is give you
81:44
in kind of a single package,
81:49
the Cliff Notes so you get the main points
81:52
of what's been happening for 20 years.
81:56
- [Daniel] Okay, you've been very patient.
82:00
- Is there anything that we could do to help your efforts?
82:05
- [Daniel] I don't think you should've asked that.
82:08
(audience laughing)
82:13
- Yes, I'm bad at the technology, there is a website,
82:21
Declassify the FBI 9/11 Files, or something like it,
82:27
and it's open to the public,
82:30
it's largely populated by the 9/11 community.
82:33
But you could get on that.
82:36
And the old adage is sure, talk to your congressmen,
82:42
and just say, your senators,
82:47
I mean, the Senate has already passed
82:49
this resolution to declassify,
82:51
but I would say sure, speak to your congressmen and senators
82:55
and say, you know, who you are, what you listened to,

82:59

and what can you do to get the 9/11 FBI files declassified

83:04

and given to the 9/11 families?

83:07

You know, it's of concern.

83:09

And to state the obvious,

83:10

when it's of concern to a lot of voters,

83:14

things are going to happen.

83:16

- [Daniel] Is that a binding resolution or non-binding?

83:18

- Non-binding.

83:19

So we want to get a House resolution,

83:24

so if we have a joint resolution,

83:26

it's passed to the President, just to get him--

83:30

- Send him a message. - Right.

83:31

- Okay. - Eyes on it.

83:32

- Okay, we have time for one more question.

83:41

- [Female Audience Member] Looking back

83:41

over the last few years, Trump, when he became president,

83:45

made his first trip as a Head of State to Saudi Arabia.

83:49

Do you think there was anything in that or sheer stupidity?

83:52

(audience chuckling)

83:54

- Maybe this is the first time I say no comment.

83:57

(audience laughing)

83:58

No, I...

84:01

I think it was, when it happened, I and the clients were,

84:04
the families were really worried.
84:10
I think it's turned out to be a good thing for us,
84:14
if he engages, because of the relationship
84:18
that he and Jared and others have.
84:22
So, clearly he was determined to do
84:27
something different than previous presidents
84:30
who would go to London or whatever,
84:35
and he obviously reacted very positively
84:38
to the gold and ceremony and everything else.
84:42
- [Daniel] The orb.
84:42
- Yeah, the orb.
84:43
- [Daniel] Don't forget the orb.
84:45
- Yeah.
84:47
- Okay, well, before I ask you to thank our speaker,
84:51
I just want to tell you that tomorrow,
84:53
4:30 in Filene Auditorium, we'll be hosting Gayle Smith,
84:58
the former administrator of USAID,
85:01
and now the head of the ONE campaign,
85:04
which is the sort of mega charity NGO
85:07
that was created by the Rockstar Bono,
85:10
she'll be speaking about investment development in Africa.
85:14
I very much hope you can join us.
85:16
And now that I've said that,

85:17

I hope you all will give a warm thank you

85:19

to our speaker today.

85:20

(audience applauding)

85:23

- Thank you.